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*The Authoritative Reference on Congress*

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## AVERAGE MEMBER VOTED ON 88% OF 1961 ROLL CALLS

The average Member of the 87th Congress voted "yea" or "nay" on 88 percent of the roll calls in 1961, and went "on the record" on 97 percent of the votes -- about the same, in both cases, as in the 86th Congress. Congressional Quarterly's tabulation was based on all 204 roll calls in the Senate and all 116 in the House in 1961. CQ's scores measure two things:

● **Voting Participation** -- The percentage of total roll calls on which a Member cast "yea" or "nay" votes.

● **On the Record** -- The percentage of total roll calls on which a Member made his position known by casting "yea" or "nay" votes, entering live pairs, announcing his stands, or answering CQ polls. (For full definitions see box.)

### Party Scores

Composites of Democratic and Republican scores for Voting Participation and On the Record for 1961 and for the 86th Congress (1959-60):

	1961		86th Congress	
	DEM.	GOP	DEM.	GOP
<b>VOTING PARTICIPATION</b>				
Both Chambers	88%	88%	87%	89%
Senate	88	86	84	87
House	88	89	89	90
<b>ON THE RECORD</b>				
Both Chambers	97%	97%	96%	97%
Senate	99	97	97	96
House	96	97	97	97

The composite Voting-Participation score of all Members of the House was 89 percent; that for all Members of the Senate was 87 percent. For both chambers, the composite On-the-Record score of all Members was 97 percent.

### Absences

Voting Participation and On the Record scores for each Member of Congress are shown in the charts on the following pages. Failures to vote usually may be traced to valid causes, including conflicting official duties and illnesses. Among those absent for a day or more in 1961 because of their illness or illness or death in their families were:

**Senate Democrats:** Hayden (Ariz.), McCarthy (Minn.), Anderson, Chavez (N.M.), and Robertson (Va.). **Senate Republicans:** Allott (Colo.), Bush (Conn.), Dirksen (Ill.), Carlson (Kan.), Cooper (Ky.), Butler (Md.), Bridges (N.H.), Prouty (Vt.), and Wiley (Wis.).

**House Democrats:** Roberts (Ala.), Rivers (Alaska), Alford (Ark.), Johnson, Moss, Shelley (Calif.), Hagan (Ga.), Libonati, Pucinski (Ill.), Madden (Ind.), Burke (Ky.), Johnson (Md.), Rabaut (Mich.), Baring (Nev.), Buckley, Multer (N.Y.), Whitener (N.C.), Green (Ore.), Holland, Walter, Toll (Pa.), Ashmore (S.C.), Harrison, Smith (Va.), and Slack (W.Va.); **House Republicans:**

### Definitions

● **VOTING PARTICIPATION** -- Percentage of roll-call votes on which Congressman votes "yea" or "nay." Failures to vote "yea" or "nay" lower scores -- even if the Congressman votes "present," enters a pair, announces his stand in the Congressional Record, or answers the CQ Poll. Only votes of "yea" or "nay" directly affect the outcome of a roll call. Voting Participation is the closest approach to an attendance record, but it is only an approximation. A Congressman may be present and nevertheless decline to vote "yea" or "nay" -- usually because he has entered a pair with an absent Member.

● **ON THE RECORD** -- Percentage of roll-call votes on which Congressman makes his position known by voting "yea" or "nay," entering a live pair, announcing his stand, or answering the CQ Poll. Scores are lowered by votes of "present" and by general pairs -- as well as by complete silence on the issue. Votes of "present" and general pairs are not expressions of opinion. On the Record does not measure the effectiveness of a Congressman in determining the outcome of roll calls, but it does show how frequently he tells his constituents and the general public where he stands on specific issues. Even if he must be absent, a Congressman can go On the Record.

Pairs are used to cancel out the effect of absences. A Congressman who expects to be absent for a roll call pairs off with another Congressman, both of them agreeing not to vote. A live pair concerns one or several specific issues. A Congressman who would vote "yea" pairs with a Congressman who would vote "nay." Thus, both announce their stands. A general pair is a more arbitrary matching of absent Congressmen, not involving announcement of their stands.

The CQ Poll gives absent Congressmen the opportunity to announce their stands on roll calls. On all roll calls, CQ sends out ballots asking Congressmen how they would have voted if they had been present.

Dominick (Colo.), Ellsworth (Kan.), Siler (Ky.), Bennett, Hoffman, Knox (Mich.), Andersen (Minn.), Battin (Mont.), Auchincloss, Dwyer, Widnall (N.J.), Dooley, Weis (N.Y.), Nygaard (N.D.), Fenton, Milliken, Saylor (Pa.), and Pelly (Wash.).

### Yearly Scores

Combined Senate-House Voting Participation scores:

	DEM.	GOP	BOTH PARTIES
1961	88%	88%	88%
1960	85	89	87
1959	89	89	89
1958	86	88	87

Combined Senate-House scores for On the Record:

	DEM.	GOP	BOTH PARTIES
1961	97%	97%	97%
1960	95	97	96
1959	97	97	97
1958	94	95	94

## Highs and Lows

Highest and lowest individual scorers in Voting Participation, 1961:

## HIGHEST SCORERS

## SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Jackson (Wash.)	100%	Smith (Maine)	100%
Holland (Fla.)	100	Dworshak (Idaho)	100
Thurmond (S.C.)	99	Keating (N.Y.)	99
Hill (Ala.)	99	Williams (Del.)	99
Proxmire (Wis.)	99	Mundt (S.D.)	99
Byrd (W.Va.)	99	Boggs (Del.)	97
Stennis (Miss.)	99	Case (N.J.)	97
Douglas (Ill.)	99	Kuchel (Calif.)	97
Pastore (R.I.)	98		

## HOUSE

Democrats: 22 scored 100 percent -- Elliott (Ala.); McFall, Doyle (Calif.); Bennett, Haley, Matthews, Rogers (Fla.); Mack, O'Brien, O'Hara, Pucinski (Ill.); Denton (Ind.); Natcher, Perkins (Ky.); Lane (Mass.); Karsten (Mo.); Olsen (Mont.); Morris (N.M.); Pike (N.Y.); Burleson, Rutherford (Texas); and Hechler (W.Va.).

Republicans: Nine scored 100 percent -- Baldwin (Calif.); Gross (Iowa); Shriver (Kan.); Langen (Minn.); Cunningham (Neb.); Ray (N.Y.); Goodling, Schneebeli (Pa.); and Thomson (Wis.).

## LOWEST SCORERS

## SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Chavez (N.M.)	10%	Bridges (N.H.)	52%
Anderson (N.M.)	68	Carlson (Kan.)	58
Gruening (Alaska)	74	Butler (Md.)	62
McCarthy (Minn.)	74	Goldwater (Ariz.)	69
Kerr (Okla.)	77	Allott (Colo.)	70
Neuberger (Ore.)	77	Morton (Ky.)	76

## HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
Buckley (N.Y.)	21%	Kilburn (N.Y.)	39%
Rabaut (Mich.)	37*	Hall (Mo.)	56
Thompson (La.)	47	Westland (Wash.)	57
Harrison (Va.)	52	Dooley (N.Y.)	61
Pilcher (Ga.)	53	Fino (N.Y.)	63
Roberts (Ala.)	54	Mason (Ill.)	68
Powell (N.Y.)	54		

\*Eligible for 114 (out of 116) roll calls in 1961.

## On the Record

Highest scorers, On the Record, 1961:

## SENATE

Democrats: 26 scored 100 percent, including the two named above who scored 100 percent in Voting Participation. Hill (Ala.); Bartlett, Gruening (Alaska); Engle (Calif.); Carroll (Colo.); Long (Hawaii); Church (Idaho); Douglas (Ill.); Muskie (Maine); McNamara (Mich.); Mansfield

Metcalfe (Mont.); Bible (Nev.); Ervin (N.C.); Burdick (N.D.); Young (Ohio); Kerr (Okla.); Neuberger (Ore.); Pastore (R.I.); Thurmond (S.C.); Kefauver (Tenn.); Byrd, Randolph (W.Va.); and Proxmire (Wis.).

Republicans: 12 scored 100 percent, including the two named above who scored 100 percent in Voting Participation. Allott (Colo.); Williams, Boggs (Del.); Curtis, Hruska (Neb.); Javits, Keating (N.Y.); Mundt (S.D.); Bennett (Utah); and Aiken (Vt.).

## HOUSE

Democrats: 113 scored 100 percent, including the 22 named above who scored 100 percent in Voting Participation. Andrews, Selden (Ala.); Rivers (Alaska); Udall (Ariz.); Gathings, Mills (Ark.); Cohelan, Hagen, Clem Miller, George P. Miller, Moss, Shelley, Sheppard, Sisk, Holifield, King (Calif.); Rogers (Colo.); Daddario, Giaimo, Kowalski (Conn.); McDowell (Del.); Sikes (Fla.); John W. Davis (Ga.); Harding (Idaho); Price, Shipley, Finnegan, Libonati, Murphy, Rostenkowski (Ill.); Brademas (Ind.); Breeding (Kan.); Chelf, Stubblefield (Ky.); McSweeney (La.); Brewster, Garmatz, Johnson, Lankford (Md.); Boland, Burke, McCormack, O'Neill, Philbin (Mass.); O'Hara, Diggs (Mich.); Blatnik, Karth, Marshall (Minn.); Williams (Miss.); Bolling, Randall, Sullivan (Mo.); Baring (Nev.); Daniels, Joelson (N.J.); Montoya (N.M.); O'Brien, Stratton, Addabbo, Farbstein, Keogh, Rooney, Santangelo (N.Y.); Fountain, Kitchin, Scott (N.C.); Albert, Jarman, Steed (Okla.); Clark, Flood, Holland, Moorhead, Morgan, Rhodes, Byrne (Pa.); Dorn (S.C.); Everett (Tenn.); Beckworth, Mahon (Texas); Abbitt, Downing, Gary, Jennings, Tuck (Va.); Hansen, Magnuson (Wash.); Kee (W.Va.); Johnson, Kastenmeier (Wis.).

Republicans: 76 scored 100 percent, including the nine named above who scored 100 percent in Voting Participation. Gubser, Teague, Utt, Wilson, Hosmer, Lipscomb, Smith (Calif.); Dominick (Colo.); Seely-Brown (Conn.); Cramer (Fla.); Chipfield, Church, Collier (Ill.); Bray, Harvey (Ind.); Bromwell, Kyl, Schwengel (Iowa); Avery, Dole, Ellsworth, McVey (Kan.); Garland, McIntire (Maine); Mathias (Md.); Curtis, Keith, Morse (Mass.); Broomfield, Cederberg, Ford, Johansen (Mich.); Judd, Quie (Minn.); Curtis (Mo.); Cahill, Dwyer (N.J.); Dooley, Kilburn, King, Miller, Robison, Wharton, Lindsay (N.Y.); Jonas (N.C.); Nygaard (N.D.); Ashbrook, Betts, Clancy, Devine, Latta, Mosher (Ohio); Corbett, Dague, Gavin, Kunkel, Schweiker, Scranton, Van Zandt (Pa.); Reece (Tenn.); Broyhill (Va.); May (Wash.); Moore (W.Va.); Laird, O'Konski, Van Pelt (Wis.); and Harrison (Wyo.).

Lowest scorers, On the Record, 1961:

## SENATE

Democrats		Republicans	
Byrd (Va.)	93%	Carlson (Kan.)	78%
Hartke (Ind.)	96	Wiley (Wis.)	86
Fulbright (Ark.)	96	Butler (Md.)	90
McClellan (Ark.)	96	Saltonstall (Mass.)	91
Eastland (Miss.)	96		

## HOUSE

Democrats		Republicans	
Vinson (Ga.)	62%	Siler (Ky.)	72%
Roberts (Ala.)	66	Milliken (Pa.)	79
Pilcher (Ga.)	69	Weaver (Neb.)	81
Wright (Texas)	70	Hall (Mo.)	84
Powell (N.Y.)	71	Martin (Mass.)	85
Young (Texas)	73	Kearns (Pa.)	85

## Voting Participation - On the Record Scores

### House Voting Scores - 1961 and 86th Congress

1. VOTING PARTICIPATION, 1961. Percentage of 116 roll calls in 1961 on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay."
2. ON THE RECORD, 1961. Percentage of 116 roll calls in 1961 on which Representative made his position known by voting "yea" or "nay", entering a live pair, announcing his stand or answering the CQ poll.
3. VOTING PARTICIPATION, 86th Congress. Percentage of 180 roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Representative voted "yea" or "nay."
4. ON THE RECORD, 86th Congress. Percentage of 180 roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Representative made his position known by voting "yea" or "nay", entering a live pair, announcing his stand, or answering the CQ poll.

#### HEADNOTES

†Not eligible for all roll calls during 86th Congress.

\*Not eligible for all roll calls in 1961.

--Not a Representative during the period of the study.

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
<b>ALABAMA</b>																			
3 Andrews	99	100	80	82	19 Holifield	82	100	78	95	<b>HAWAII</b>									
1 Boykin	73	76	66	67	17 King	97	100	98	100	AL Inouye	91	97	94	100†					
7 Elliott	100	100	88	91	26 Roosevelt	78	96	93	99	<b>IDAHO</b>									
2 Grant	80*	80*	78	82	16 Bell	84	97	--	--	2 Harding	96	100	--	--					
9 Huddleston	95	97	99	100	21 Hiestand	91	92	93	97	1 Pfoz	86	90	97	97					
8 Jones	95	97	89	91	18 Hosmer	73	100	94	100	<b>ILLINOIS</b>									
5 Rains	59	97	83	98	24 Lipscomb	95	100	97	100	25 Gray	86	89	93	94					
4 Roberts	54	66	83	94	15 McDonough	74	87	87	89	21 Mack	100	100	92	98					
6 Selden	99	100	99	100	25 Rousselot	92	99	--	--	24 Price	97	100	99	100					
<b>ALASKA</b>					20 Smith	91	100	95	100	23 Shipley	97	100	93	97					
AL Rivers	96	100	97	99	<b>COLORADO</b>					16 Anderson	89	97	--	--					
<b>ARIZONA</b>					4 Aspinall	93	97	96	100	17 Arends	86	92	88	94					
2 Udall M.	94*100*	--	--	--	1 Rogers	98	100	92	99	19 Chiperfield	87	100	93	100					
1 Rhodes	97	99	95	97	3 Chenoweth	98	99	99	100	20 Findley	91	98	--	--					
<b>ARKANSAS</b>					2 Dominick	92	100	--	--	14 Hoffman	92	95	94†	97†					
5 Alford	78	92	75	81	<b>CONNECTICUT</b>					15 Mason	68	99	69	88					
1 Gathings	98	100	98	99	1 Daddario	94	100	96	99	18 Michel	84	98	92	99					
4 Harris	97	99	97	98	3 Giaimo	95	100	92	98	22 Springer	86	98	100	100					
2 Mills	99	100	98	99	AL Kowalski	98	100	95	98	<b>Chicago Cook County</b>									
6 Norrell C.	66*	83*	--	--	5 Monagan	90	96	91	98	1 Dawson	81	87	84	86					
3 Trimble	97	98	99	99	2 Seely-Brown	98	100	--	--	12 Finnegan	97	100	--	--					
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>					4 Sibal	96	97	--	--	5 Kluczynski	84	90	84	88					
7 Cohelan	97	100	95	98	<b>DELAWARE</b>					7 Libonati	84	100	99	100					
14 Hagen	97	100	96	99	AL McDowell	97	100	86	97	3 Murphy	98	100	100	100					
2 Johnson	91	97	99	100	<b>FLORIDA</b>					6 O'Brien	100	100	97	99					
11 McFall	100	100	99	100	2 Bennett	100	100	100	100	2 O'Hara	100	100	100	100					
1 Miller C.	91	100	94	100	4 Fascell	91	99	98	99	11 Pucinski	100	100	100	100					
8 Miller G.P.	91	100	81	99	7 Haley	100	100	99	99	8 Rostenkowski	88	100	88	97					
3 Moss	91	100	95	99	5 Herlong	85	98	87	99	9 Yates	97	98	94	96					
29 Sound	84	85	94	99	8 Matthews	100	100	99	100	13 Church	96	100	100	100					
5 Shelley	73	100	77	99	6 Rogers	100	100	100	100	10 Collier	89	100	94	100					
27 Sheppard	66	100	71	100	3 Sikes	94	100	83	91	4 Derwinski	90	99	85	99					
12 Sisk	96	100	97	100	1 Cramer	84	100	93	100	<b>INDIANA</b>									
<b>GEORGIA</b>					<b>GEORGIA</b>					3 Brademas	94	100	98	100					
6 Baldwin	100	100	100	100	8 Blitch	65	87	74	98	8 Denton	100	100	89	97					
10 Gubser	97	100	87	100	5 Davis J.C.	82	91	89	94	1 Madden	86	91	94	97					
4 Mailliard	90	90	89	92	7 Davis J.W.	96	100	--	--	5 Roush	96*	99*	97	100					
13 Teague	87	100	92†	96†	4 Flynt	77	81	91	95	4 Adair	89*	93*	84	87					
28 Utt	85*100*	93	98		3 Forrester	94	96	96	99	7 Bray	98	100	93	96					
30 Wilson	80	100	87	98	1 Hagan	93	97	--	--	11 Bruce	97	98	--	--					
9 Younger	84	86	91	100	9 Landrum	70	76	77	80	2 Halleck	82	89	91	92					
<b>Los Angeles Co.</b>					2 Pilcher	53	69	78	89	10 Harvey	88	100	--	--					
22 Corman	92	97	--	--	10 Stephens	92	98	--	--	6 Roudsbush	90	99	--	--					
23 Doyle	100	100	91	98	6 Vinson	59	62	83	88	9 Wilson	94	97	--	--					

VOTING PARTICIPATION  
1961 and  
86th Congress

1 2 3 4

<b>IOWA</b>				
6 Coad	84	90	89	96
5 Smith	91	92	99	99
2 Bromwell	93	100	--	--
3 Gross	100	100	100	100
8 Hoeven	72	87	99	99
7 Jensen	89	98	95	96
4 Kyl	89	100	99†	100†
1 Schwengel	98	100	98	99
<b>KANSAS</b>				
5 Breeding	93	100	98	100
1 Avery	99	100	99	100
6 Dale	99	100	--	--
2 Ellsworth	92	100	--	--
3 McVey	95	100	--	--
4 Shriver	100	100	--	--
<b>KENTUCKY</b>				
3 Burke	89	96	96	100
4 Chelf	99	100	79	99
2 Natcher	100	100	100	100
7 Perkins	100	100	97	97
5 Spence	94	95	81	84
1 Stubblefield	95	100	97	100
6 Watts	95	97	93	94
8 Siler	69	72	87	92
<b>LOUISIANA</b>				
2 Boggs	70	98	84	99
4 Brooks	63*	82*	92	99
1 Hebert	55	81	63	84
8 McSween	63	100	79	100

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
6 Morrison	66	81	59	73	NEBRASKA					5 Scott	91	100	77	99	6 McMillan	89	97	89	97
5 Passman	89	99	87	97	3 Beermann	94	97	--	--	12 Taylor	98	99	86†	86†	2 Riley	81	89	91	96
7 Thompson	47	77	44	83	2 Cunningham	100	100	99	100	11 Whitener	96	97	96	96	1 Rivers	81	91	84	86
3 Willis	78	84	72	82	4 Martin	84	88	--	--	10 Jonas	99	100	100	100	SOUTH DAKOTA				
MAINE					1 Weaver	73	81	86	94	NORTH DAKOTA					2 Berry	87	91	99	100
1 Garland	90	100	--	--	NEVADA					AL Nygaard	95	100	--	--	1 Reifel	82	99	--	--
3 McIntire	92	100	94	99	AL Baring	85	100	81	100	AL Short	87	92	90	98	TENNESSEE				
2 Tupper	87	94	--	--	NEW HAMPSHIRE					OHIO					6 Bass	83	86	96	97
MARYLAND					2 Bass	87	99	90	99	9 Ashley	82	92	83	97	9 Davis	76	99	73	99
2 Brewster	91	100	88	98	1 Merrow	88	90	79	84	11 Cook	81	97	92	100	8 Everett	98	100	100	100
4 Fallon	89	98	91	93	NEW JERSEY					20 Feighan	95	98	96	97	4 Evans	66	84	81	91
7 Friedel	98	99	96	100	11 Addonizio	97	98	96	98	18 Hays	87	98	86	99	3 Frazier	82	91	81	89
3 Garmatz	90	100	87	98	14 Daniels	88	100	97	99	19 Kirwan	91	95	84	93	5 Loser	83	99	82	99
1 Johnson	94	100	91	99	13 Gallagher	87	94	92	97	10 Moeller	92	97	85	100	7 Murray	94	97	89	100
5 Lankford	92	100	94	95	8 Joelson	98	100	--	--	21 Vanik	98	99	97	99	2 Baker	87	93	90	94
6 Matbias	99	100	--	--	10 Rodino	91	98	94	98	17 Ashbrook	98	100	--	--	1 Reece L.	92*	100*	--	--
MASSACHUSETTS					4 Thompson	88	99	87	99	14 Ayres	85	99	89	93	TEXAS				
2 Boland	98	100	96	97	3 Auchincloss	92	96	83	96	8 Betts	94	100	96	99	3 Beckworth	98	100	100	100
13 Burke	97	100	99	100	1 Cabill	90	100	89	98	22 Bolton	98	99	84	92	2 Brooks	93	96	98	98
4 Donohue	94	95	89	91	6 Dwyer	97	100	99	100	16 Bow	89	97	90	99	17 Burleson	100	100	103	98
7 Lane	100	100	97	99	5 Frelinghuysen	93	98	89	97	7 Brown	95	97	97	99	22 Casey	94	94	92	99
8 Macdonald	79	87	82	85	2 Glenn	77	89	80	92	2 Clancy	95	100	--	--	7 Dowdy	97	98	89	89
12 McCormack	97	100	93	99	9 Osmer	78	99	93	100	12 Devine	86	100	94	100	21 Fisher	98	98	94	98
11 O'Neill	83	100	87	99	12 Wallhauser	97	98	94	99	6 Harsha	84	87	--	--	13 Ikard	92	94	94	96
3 Philbin	94	100	87	98	7 Widnall	91	97	91	97	5 Latta	99	100	100	100	20 Kilday	89*	89*	97	97
6 Bates	96	99	98	100	NEW MEXICO					4 McCulloch	97	99	98	98	15 Kilgore	91	98	99	100
1 Conte	97	97	100	100	AL Montoya	94	100	78	96	23 Minshall	91	99	84	100	19 Mahon	99	100	97	99
10 Curtis	93	100	95	100	AL Morris	100	100	83	88	15 Moorehead	93	97	--	--	1 Patman	98	99	94	99
9 Keith	96	100	96	99	NEW YORK					13 Mosher	91	100	--	--	11 Poage	87	88	86	96
14 Martin	79	85	67	74	41 Dulski	92	99	93	100	3 Schenck	92	94	99	99	4 Rayburn				
5 Morse	97	100	--	--	30 O'Brien	77	100	78	99	1 Scherer	88	93	89	94	18 Rogers	85	91	85	88
MICHIGAN					1 Pike	100	100	--	--	OKLAHOMA					16 Rutherford	100	100	99	100
7 O'Hara	97	100	97	99	32 Stratton	99	100	97	100	3 Albert	97	100	95	98	6 Teague	83*	85*	72	74
12 Bennett	88	95	95	97	27 Barry	96	98	90	97	2 Edmondson	96	96	86	89	8 Thomas	91	91	91	92
18 Broomfield	92	100	97	100	3 Becker	90	97	92	97	5 Jarman	96	100	94	98	9 Thompson	94	99	96	100
10 Cederberg	78	100	94	97	2 Derounian	97	97	93	96	4 Steed	84	100	76	99	10 Thornberry	95	95	100	100
6 Chamberlain	94	99	97	100	26 Dooley	61	100	83	94	6 Wickersham	97*	97*	--	--	12 Wright	67	70	93	94
5 Ford	82	100	86	99	43 Goodell	86	86	80†	99†	1 Belcher	92	95	95	96	14 Young	70	73	86	88
9 Griffin	86	86	94	94	33 Kilburn	39	100	54	100	OREGON					5 Alger	73	90	91	96
8 Harvey	85	88	--	--	31 King	98	100	--	--	3 Green	74	93	87	99	UTAH				
4 Hoffman	84	93	82	90	40 Miller	69	100	70	99	2 Ullman	97	99	76	98	2 King	97	97	96	99
3 Johansen	97	100	96	100	29 Oestertag	98	99	99	100	4 Durno	91	98	--	--	1 Peterson	92	93	--	--
11 Knox	88	95	96	99	42 Pillion	90	91	84	92	1 Norblad	92	99	92	100	VERMONT				
2 Meader	96	96	99	98	34 Pirnie	80	99	97	100	PENNSYLVANIA					AL Stafford	94	98	--	--
Detroit - Wayne County					35 Riehlman	91	93	89	92	25 Clark	93	100	96	99	VIRGINIA				
13 Diggs	84	100	77	98	37 Robinson	92	100	98	100	21 Dent	81	93	89	97	4 Abbott	99	100	99	99
15 Dingell	86	99	96	97	28 St. George	78	99	97	98	11 Flood	86	100	97	98	1 Downing	95	100	89	100
17 Griffiths	93	97	94	97	36 Taber	93	95	95	98	30 Holland	93	100	92	99	3 Gary	99	100	97	98
16 Lesinski	84	99	87	98	28 Weiss	82	97	89	99	28 Moorhead	93	100	95	99	2 Hardy	93	97	97	98
1 Machrowicz	90*	99*	84	94	29 Wharton	78	100	89	99	26 Morgan	97	100	92	96	7 Harrison	52	92	91	98
14 Rabaut	37*	99*	84	94	New York City					14 Rhodes	97	100	98	100	9 Jennings	93	100	98	100
MINNESOTA					5 Addabbo	97	100	--	--	15 Walter	78	99	76	89	8 Smith	89	91	92	93
8 Blatnik	84	100	86	100	8 Anuso	65	97	63	100	29 Corbett	96	100	96	99	5 Tuck	95	100	93	99
4 Karth	87	100	88	100	24 Buckley	21	96	32	94	8 Curtin	98	99	98	99	10 Broyhill	94	100	88	98
6 Marshall	97	100	85	99	12 Carey	73	86	--	--	9 Dague	79	100	94	99	6 Poff	98	98	100	100
7 Andersen	93	95	92	96	11 Celler	71	86	69	83	12 Fenton	93	97	98	99	WASHINGTON				
5 Judd	94	100	95	100	7 Delaney	91	99	93	100	27 Fulton	97	98	99	100	3 Hansen	90	100	--	--
9 Langen	100	100	100	100	19 Farberstein	86	100	85	99	23 Gavin	92	100	88	96	7 Magnuson	93	100	82	95
3 MacGregor	86	99	--	--	23 Gilbert	88	94	68†	83†	19 Goodling	100	100	--	--	5 Horan	90*	99*	91	99
2 Nelson	86	99	97	100	22 Healey	79	85	81	90	24 Kearns	84	85	86	92	4 May	88	100	92	98
1 Quie	91	100	95	100	6 Holtzman	83	99	95	99	7 Milliken	77	79	99	99	1 Pelly	86	97	93	98
MISSISSIPPI					10 Kelly	88	97	82	91	16 Kunkel	99*	100*	--	--	6 Tollefson	93	94	87	94
1 Abernethy	87	93	98	98	9 Keogh	68	100	66	99	22 Saylor	97	98	95	99	2 Westland	57	97	83	99
6 Colmer	72	80	93	96	13 Multer	78	91	83	99	17 Schneebeli	100	100	98†	98†	WEST VIRGINIA				
3 Smith	91	91	97	97	16 Powell	54	71	50	76	13 Schweiker	99	100	--	--	3 Bailey	92	99	91	99
2 Whitten	92	93	93	95	14 Rooney	90	100	84	96	10 Scranton	97	100	--	--	4 Hechler	100	100	98	98
4 Williams	79	100	86	99	20 Ryan	99	99	--	--	20 Van Zandt	97	100	98	98	5 Kee	82	100	91	100
5 Winstead	84	97	91	98	18 Santangelo	62	100	85	99	18 Whalley	93	98	--	--	6 Slack	74	84	95	96
MISSOURI					21 Zelenko	76	89	77	99	Philadelphia City					2 Staggers	90	91	91	96
5 Bolling	92	100	84	99	25 Fino	63	94	82	99	1 Barrett	86	92	88	92	1 Moore	90	100	92	99
9 Cannon	79	81	87	91	4 Halpern	35	91	95	100	3 Byrne	99	100	96	100	WISCONSIN				
6 Hull	92	98	96	98	17 Lindsay	97	100	98	100	2 Granahan	89	99	91	100	9 Johnson	88	100	100	100
8 Ichard	89	95	--	--	15 Ray	100	100	100	100	5 Green	86	92	85	91	2 Kastenmeier	99	100	99	100
10 Jones	72	78	83	88	NORTH CAROLINA					4 Nix	98	99	89	98	5 Reuss	84	95	94	99
1 Karsten	100	100	100	100	9 Alexander	93	97	81	84	6 Toll	97	99	96	97	4 Zablocki	97	99	100	100
11 Moulder	70*	98*	87	98	1 Bonner	87	91	71	82	RHODE ISLAND					8 Byrnes	82	95	97	100
4 Randall	94	100	94†	98†	4 Cooley	71	78	81	83	2 Fogarty	79	98	80	91	7 Laird	91	100	91	99
3 Sullivan	92	100	97	100	2 Fountain	99	100	94	100	1 St. Germain	87	91	--	--	10 O'Konski	76*	100*	93	99
2 Curtis	83	100	92	99	3 Henderson	93	96	--	--	SOUTH CAROLINA					1 Schadeberg	97	98	--	--
7 Hall	86	84	--	--	8 Kitchin	97	100	93	100	4 Ashmore	94	97	96	99	3 Thomson	100	100	--	--
MONTANA					6 Kornegay	96	99	--	--	3 Dorn	96	100	97	99	6 Van Pelt	79	100	82	98
1 Olsen	100	100	--	--	7 Lennon	93	99	94	98	5 Hemphill	92	96	93	99	WYOMING				
2 Battin	87	99	--	--								</							

## Voting Participation - On the Record Scores

## Senate Voting Scores - 1961 and 86th Congress

1. VOTING PARTICIPATION, 1961. Percentage of 204 roll calls on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay."
2. ON THE RECORD, 1961. Percentage of 204 roll calls on which Senator made his position known by voting "yea" or "nay", entering a live pair, announcing his stand or answering the CQ poll.
3. VOTING PARTICIPATION, 86th Congress. Percentage of 422 roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Senator voted "yea" or "nay."
4. ON THE RECORD, 86th Congress. Percentage of 422 roll calls in 1959 and 1960 on which Senator made his position known by voting "yea" or "nay", entering a live pair, announcing his stand, or answering the CQ poll.

## HEADNOTES

†Not eligible for all roll calls during the 86th Congress.

\*Not eligible for all roll calls in 1961.

--Not a Senator during the period of the study.

#House scores shown for 86th Congress.

	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		VOTING PARTICIPATION
																1961 and 86th Congress
																1 2 3 4
<b>ALABAMA</b>					<b>INDIANA</b>					<b>NEBRASKA</b>					<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>	
Hill	99	100	85	93	Hartke	82	96	85	98	Curtis	90	100	92	98	Johnston	94 99 93 97
Sparkman	95	99	78	98	Capehart	80	96	63	83	Hruska	84	100	85	99	Thurmond	99 100 95 100
<b>ALASKA</b>					<b>IOWA</b>					<b>NEVADA</b>					<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>	
Bartlett	89	100	90	99	Hickenlooper	88	93	91	92	Bible	97	100	90	100	Case	96 99 83 97
Gruening	74	100	90	99	Miller	91	98	--	--	Cannon	94	99	93	100	Mundt	99 100 92 97
<b>ARIZONA</b>					<b>KANSAS</b>					<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>					<b>TENNESSEE</b>	
Hayden	81	99	83	93	Carlson	58	78	86	95	Bridges	52	96	68	97	Gore	79 97 85 91
Goldwater	69	94	71	91	Schoeppel	83	94	79	91	Cotton	94	97	90	93	Kefauver	88 100 70 92
<b>ARKANSAS</b>					<b>KENTUCKY</b>					<b>NEW JERSEY</b>					<b>TEXAS</b>	
Fulbright	81	96	76	92	Cooper	82	92	93	98	Williams	93	99	92	98	Yarborough	83 97 86 99
McClellan	91	96	88	98	Morton	76	99	85	93	Case	97	99	92	100	Tower	85* 98* -- --
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>					<b>LOUISIANA</b>					<b>NEW MEXICO</b>					<b>UTAH</b>	
Engle	92	100	95	99	Ellender	90	99	85	99	Anderson	68	98	82	91	Moss	85 99 88 99
Kuchel	97	99	95	98	Long	94	99	86	98	Chavez	10	97	66	95	Bennett	91 100 86 99
<b>COLORADO</b>					<b>MAINE</b>					<b>NEW YORK</b>					<b>VERMONT</b>	
Carroll	96	100	93	100	Muskie	90	100	87	97	Javits	94	100	91	99	Aiken	85 100 91 100
Allott	70	100	93	99	Smith	100	100	100	100	Keating	99	100	98	100	Prouty	78 99 95 99
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>					<b>MARYLAND</b>					<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>					<b>VIRGINIA</b>	
Dodd	80	98	76	96	Beall	87	98	87	96	Ervin	93	100	94	99	Byrd	79 93 75 87
Bush	79	95	91	99	Butler	62	90	83	88	Jordan	93	98	85	95	Robertson	85 99 89 97
<b>DELAWARE</b>					<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>					<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>					<b>WASHINGTON</b>	
Baggs	97	100	--	--	Smith	83	99	--	--	Burdick	79	100	74† 100†		Jackson	100 100 98 100
Williams	99	100	97	99	Saltstall	82	91	86	93	Young	87	96	86	96	Magnuson	92 99 88 99
<b>FLORIDA</b>					<b>MICHIGAN</b>					<b>OHIO</b>					<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>	
Holland	100	100	95	99	Hart	89	99	93	99	Lausche	94	99	98	100	Byrd	99 100 95 100
Smathers	91	99	78	94	McNamara	97	100	84	98	Young	96	100	92	100	Randolph	89 100 90 100
<b>GEORGIA</b>					<b>MINNESOTA</b>					<b>OKLAHOMA</b>					<b>WISCONSIN</b>	
Russell	89	97	78	92	Humphrey	92	99	65	98	Kerr	77	100	81	96	Proxmire	99 100 97 99
Talmadge	96	99	91	96	McCarthy	74	99	85	99	Monroney	96	99	88	98	Wiley	82 86 79 91
<b>HAWAII</b>					<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>					<b>OREGON</b>					<b>WYOMING</b>	
Long	89	100	90†	99†	Eastland	80	96	80	95	Morse	82	99	88	99	Hickey	90 99 -- --
Fong	90	93	88†	92†	Stennis	99	99	92	99	Neuberger	77	100	--	--	McGee	91 99 84 99
<b>IDAH0</b>					<b>MISSOURI</b>					<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>						
Church	94	100	85	99	Long	84	98	--	--	Clark	92	99	94	100		
Dworsbak	100	100	94	94	Symington	89	99	74	99	Scott	96	99	97	99		
<b>ILLINOIS</b>					<b>MONTANA</b>					<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>						
Douglas	99	100	92	100	Mansfield	91	100	91	99	Pastore	98	100	91	99		
Dirksen	81	96	91	98	Metcalf	95	100	84#	98#	Pell	95	99	--	--		

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

## HOUSE ENLARGEMENT BILLS

Bills to enlarge the permanent size of the House of Representatives, which were killed in 1961 by a Sept. 13 vote of House Judiciary Subcommittee No. 3 (Weekly Report p. 1586, 1549), may be revived in 1962. Reliable sources report that the prospective new Speaker, John W. McCormack (D Mass.), would welcome a bill enlarging the House in order to relieve redistricting problems in Massachusetts, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D Pa.) is also reliably reported to be continuing his pressure for House enlargement.

Bills introduced in 1961 provided for House membership increases ranging from 3 to 34 seats. The first four states that would receive extra seats are Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania and Illinois (in that order). (For official Census Bureau apportionment priority list up to 547 seats, see Weekly Report p. 274).

Unless it were to enact redistricting legislation in 1962, any state receiving more seats than it currently has would run them at large in 1962.

Of the states which redistricted in 1961 none provided for a return to the old districts in the event Congress were to add more seats.

## TEXAS GOVERNOR RACE

In a Dec. 11 announcement of his resignation as Secretary of the Navy and his candidacy for the 1962 Texas Democratic gubernatorial nomination, John B. Connally Jr. joined a large field of announced and prospective candidates for Governor. Major contests are expected both in the May 5, 1962 Democratic primary and in the Nov. 6 general election.

Announced and prospective Democratic candidates:

- **Connally**, 44, who was a Fort Worth lawyer, oilman and corporate executive before his appointment as Secretary of the Navy in the Kennedy Administration. Connally is a political protege of Vice President Johnson, for whom he has acted as a campaign manager in past years. The Johnson connection could either help of harm Connally in his campaign. Connally is expected to receive generous backing in his campaign from the state's large business interests. Though well known to Texas business interests and political circles, he has never sought office before and must undertake a campaign to make himself well known to the state's voters. Connally is considered a "moderate" Texas Democrat with a political position slightly more conservative than Johnson's. His resignation as Secretary of the Navy takes effect Dec. 20.

- **Gov. Price Daniel** (D), 51, who is eligible to seek a third term if he wishes. Observers consider it unlikely that he and Connally, who share the same political philosophy and are close friends, would oppose each other in the primary. Daniel is a former Eisenhower Democrat. He has not yet said whether he will run again.

- **Attorney General Will Wilson** (D), 49, an announced candidate. He occupies a "moderate" position close to Connally's and Daniel's, but is personally at odds with Daniel. He lost political prestige through his poor race

in the April 4, 1961 special Senate election to fill Johnson's former seat.

- **Marshall Formby** (D) of Plainview, a radio station owner and former state senator and state highway commissioner. A "conservative moderate," he is considered a likely candidate.

- **Sen. Ralph Yarborough** (D), 58, who has been urged by some liberal Democrats to make the race. He is expected to make a decision by Jan. 1. His entry is considered unlikely.

- **Don Yarborough** (D), a young Houston attorney and no relation of Sen. Yarborough, who ran a strong race in the 1960 Democratic primary for lieutenant governor. Also a liberal, he would not run if Sen. Yarborough did.

- **Rep. James C. Wrigley Jr.** (D), 39, a "moderate liberal" who has been considering the race but has made no final decision yet.

- **Former Gov. Allan Shivers** (D 1949-57), 54, a strong conservative. His entry is considered unlikely.

On the Republican side, former Democrat Jack Cox, 40, of Breckenridge, who Sept. 9 announced his switch in allegiance to the Republican party, is expected to win the nomination without significant opposition. Cox, a former state representative, received 41 percent of the vote in a challenge to Gov. Daniel in the 1960 Democratic gubernatorial primary. The vote was Daniel 908,992; Cox 619,834. Cox is strongly conservative. (Weekly Report p. 1480, 1592)

## NAVY SECRETARYSHIP

President Kennedy Dec. 11 appointed Fred Korth, 52, a Fort Worth, Texas, banker, to succeed Connally Dec. 20 as Secretary of the Navy. A Democrat, Korth was Assistant Secretary of the Army in the last year of the Truman Administration (1952-53).

## RAYBURN HOUSE SEAT

Voters of the Texas 4th District (Central Northeast) Dec. 23 will select a successor to the late Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn (D Texas). If no candidate wins a majority in the special election, a run-off will be required.

Leading candidates include:

- **R.C. Slagle Jr.** (D), of Sherman, a former Rayburn campaign manager with close ties to the local Democratic party organization.

- **State Senator Ray Roberts** (D) of McKinney, well known through his activities in the Legislature. He was a close friend of Rayburn.

- **Former City Commissioner David Brown** (D), 41, of Sherman, an attorney who opposed Rayburn in the 1948 primary but supported him subsequently. Brown is a former president of the Sherman Chamber of Commerce.

- **Conner Harrington** (R), 36, of Plano, a farmer.

Other candidates are Jack Finney (D), 45, of Greenville, a conservative; and Roy G. Baker (D), 47, of Sherman.

Local observers doubt that any candidate will win a majority in the Dec. 23 election, so that a run-off will

be required. Slagle and Roberts are given the best chance of making the run-off, though Brown and Harrington are strong contenders. Slagle and Roberts will probably benefit through their past association with Rayburn. Harrington may benefit from being the only Republican in the race, but he and Finney may split the conservative vote which is usually overshadowed in the area by what a local observer calls "Johnson-Rayburn-Moderate-Democratism." Republicans have been singularly unsuccessful in making inroads in the district in the past. The Republican Presidential vote since 1952 has ranged between 42.3 and 44.3 percent. In the 1961 special Senate election John G. Tower (R) won only 31 percent of the district vote.

An extremely light vote is expected with the election scheduled for Christmas weekend.

The district will be a prime target for redistricting, probably in 1963. Its population in 1960 was 213,374, making it the sixth smallest Congressional district in the United States. Average population for Texas Congressional districts, based on the 1960 Census, is 416,508. The neighboring 5th District (Dallas) had 951,527 population.

### MCCORMACK OPPOSED

The Baptist Bible Fellowship International Conference Nov. 24 opposed Rep. John W. McCormack (D Mass.), a Roman Catholic, to succeed the late Sam Rayburn as Speaker of the House of Representatives because he has "never taken a stand against tax aid for private schools."

Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State Nov. 18 expressed "justified anxiety" over the possibility of McCormack's election to the post because for many years he has been the "foremost champion on Capitol Hill of the Catholic Bishop's position on church and state" and federal aid for parochial schools as part of any school aid bill. (Weekly Report p. 1876, 1846)

### YOUNG DEMOCRATS

Allan T. Howe, 33, administrative assistant to Sen. Frank E. Moss (D Utah), Dec. 9 was elected president of the Young Democratic Clubs of America at the group's convention in Miami. Howe defeated Berrien Moore of Inglewood, Calif., 644-380, to succeed to the post currently held by Roy A. Shafer of Philadelphia. A native of Salt Lake City, Howe is a lawyer and the father of three children.

### STATE BRIEFS

**CONNECTICUT** -- Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham A. Ribicoff Dec. 6 said he did not plan to run in 1962 for the Senate seat currently held by Sen. Prescott Bush (R Conn.). But he said, "What the future holds, I just don't know, and after many years in politics, I know that the future is always hard to predict." Leading Connecticut Democrats are reportedly anxious to have Ribicoff, who won re-election as Governor in 1958 by a record majority, take a place on the 1962 state ticket in order to win the Senate seat and prevent the defeat of his successor, Gov. John Dempsey (D), who may be vulnerable to Republican attacks because of the tax increases he put through the General Assembly in 1961. Fate of the statewide ticket may also determine the outcome of several Congressional races. (Weekly Report p. 1819, 1896).

**ILLINOIS** -- Rep. Marguerite Stitt Church (R Ill., 13th District -- North Cook County and Northeast) Dec. 7 announced she would not seek re-election in 1962. In a statement she said it would be "appropriate" that a new Representative be elected from the new 13th District, substantially changed from the current one in redistricting action just completed in the state. (Weekly Report p. 1910) Mrs. Church was first elected to Congress in 1950 to succeed her deceased husband, Rep. Ralph E. Church (R), who had held the same seat for 12 years.

**IOWA** -- Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R Iowa), 65, Dec. 11 announced he would be a candidate for a third term in 1962.

**NEBRASKA** -- Former Republican State Chairman Charles Thone Dec. 6 withdrew from the race for the 1962 Republican gubernatorial nomination, leaving the way clear for former Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton to receive the nomination without opposition. Seaton had announced his candidacy Nov. 17. Authoritative reports from the state said Gov. Frank B. Morrison (D) was considering not seeking re-election but running for a six-year term as Chief Justice of the Nebraska Supreme Court instead.

**NEW JERSEY** -- Retiring Gov. Robert B. Meyner (D) Dec. 7 said he would join with his personal counsel, Stephen B. Wiley, and his executive secretary, Edwin C. Landis, in establishing a law firm in Newark following his retirement in January after two terms as Governor. Meyner has also been discussing with NBC officials a possible panel or discussion type television show over which he and his wife, the former Helen Stevenson, might preside. He said his law plans would not interfere with a possible television program. Many New Jersey observers believed that Meyner would have preferred to remain in political life but that President Kennedy had not made any acceptable offer to him.

**OHIO** -- Robert A. Taft Jr. (R), 44, the current majority leader of the Ohio House of Representatives, Dec. 1 announced he would be a candidate for Ohio's At-Large Congressional seat in the 1962 elections. The decision ended speculation that he might be a candidate for Governor or Senator in 1962. A successful 1962 race for the House, however, would place Taft in a strong position to challenge Sen. Stephen M. Young (D) in the 1964 election.

Taft, son of the late U.S. Senator and grandson of former President and Chief Justice William Howard Taft, said in his announcement that his political philosophy is close to that of former Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Taft has been a State Representative since 1955. He has shown strong vote-getting abilities in four successive elections to the House from his home city of Cincinnati and in 1960 as a candidate for delegate-at-large from Ohio to the Republican National Convention.

A likely Democratic opponent for Taft is State Sen. Joseph Bartunek (Cleveland), who is a popular vote getter in Cleveland and could be expected to run quite strongly in the Cleveland-Youngstown-Akron area.

**VERMONT** -- Former Rep. William H. Meyer (D Vt. 1959-61) has informed the Vermont Democratic State Committee that he will be a candidate for the Senate in 1962 against Sen. George D. Aiken (R Vt.), according to Dec. 4 reports.

## AFL-CIO CONVENTION

The AFL-CIO Dec. 13 approved a plan for settlement of jurisdictional disputes between its affiliates which called for mediation and arbitration, with final power of decision vested in the Executive Council. Adoption of the new formula, as an amendment to the organization's constitution, was the final action in a Dec. 7-13 biennial convention at Bal Harbour, Fla.

During the convention, union members heard President Kennedy call for holding wage boosts generally to rises in productivity and replied by resolving to press for wage advances and shorter hours. (For text of President's speech, see p. 1957) Racial discrimination by unions was debated and a new civil rights policy adopted.

AFL-CIO President George Meany Dec. 13 was re-elected without opposition. Meany criticized Walter P. Reuther, head of the United Automobile Workers Union, for failing to devote the union's resources and effort to organizing workers and charged Reuther had "laid off about 80 organizers from his staff since last spring."

The convention adopted a resolution which in effect continued the exile of the Teamsters Union by stating that to be readmitted, any group expelled for corruption must pass a test of adherence to all Federation "rules, laws, standards and policies."

The convention's action on jurisdictional disputes climaxed a two-year search by a special AFL-CIO committee for a compromise to halt increasingly bitter feuding between craft and industrial unions. Although in the past it was generally agreed industrial unions would perform production and maintenance work and craft unions would handle new construction, the AFL-CIO has not decided who should do the work in the "gray area" between these two classifications. The newly-adopted formula at present will be binding only on a few thousand workers, but it was estimated as many as 75,000 additional workers could become involved in the future as missile base construction expands.

Under the new amendment: all affiliates bind themselves to respect the collective bargaining relationship and established working relationship of other unions; a union can file a complaint of infringement on its rights and jurisdiction with the AFL-CIO president, who then would refer the case to one or more mediators from a panel of persons "within the labor movement"; if a "voluntary" settlement was not reached in 14 days the issue would go to an impartial umpire selected by the president with approval of the Executive Council from a panel of "prominent and respected persons" outside the labor movement; the umpire would make a decision within a time limit set by the president, and unless there were an appeal within five days the decision would automatically become effective; an appeal would be referred to an Executive Council subcommittee, expected to consist of the president and two other Council members, for disallowal or referral to the full Council; unless a majority of the council (15) voted to set aside the verdict, it would stand.

The plan was accepted by all delegates except Elmer Brown, president of the International Typographical

Union and six fellow ITU delegates, who said it threatened their sovereignty.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

In the area of civil rights, the convention unanimously adopted a resolution pledging that the federation would "intensify its drive to make fully secure equal rights for all Americans in every field of life and to assure for all workers without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry the full benefits of union membership." The resolution empowered the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Committee to initiate complaints of its own "on the basis of prima facie evidence that discrimination is being practiced," and also emphasized a voluntary approach by affiliates to the problem.

Adoption of the resolution was accompanied by settlement of a week-long dispute between Meany and A. Philip Randolph, the federation's only Negro vice president, who also is president of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Randolph had been censured in October 1960 by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on grounds he was largely responsible for the gap between Negroes and the labor movement, and was guilty of racism in his own union. Randolph Dec. 12 said a federation committee's report leading to his censure was "dishonorable, disgraceful, petty and cheap." Meany said Randolph had pledged not to criticize the report. In a Dec. 13 agreement, Randolph agreed to have his criticism stricken from the record and the AFL-CIO Resolutions Committee agreed the report would be "deposited" with the Executive Council, and would "die" there.

The convention Dec. 12 adopted a series of economic policy resolutions. They called for pressure for wage advances "as a vital means of increasing inadequate consumer purchasing power" and for both an "expansionary" federal budget policy and increased federal expenditures. They also pledged a drive to cut the present standard 40-hour work week. The resolutions were regarded as a rejection of President Kennedy's plea, in a Dec. 7 speech to the group, for wage restraint to combat inflation. He also had asked for support of his drive for broad tariff-cutting power, and the convention Dec. 11 accepted a resolution agreeing that Congress should enact a new trade law for "maximum opportunity" for trade expansion -- but adding that "adequate assistance or relief is essential if the American labor movement is to continue its support for a liberal trade policy."

Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg Dec. 8 told the convention he soon would make recommendations for overhauling the Taft-Hartley labor law, but he did not spell out his proposals.

## U.S. KATANGA COMMITTEE

Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) Dec. 14 said he was not a member of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, which formed Dec. 13 and listed Dirksen as a member in an advertisement in the New York Times.

(Continued on next page)

Among members of the Committee were William F. Buckley, former Ambassador Spruille Braden, former New Jersey Gov. Charles Edison, J.B. Matthews, former Utah Gov. J. Bracken Lee and Archibald B. Roosevelt.

Dirksen said that, while he "concurred in the general objectives of any group" which wanted a cease-fire between United Nations and Katangese troops, he did not wish to belong to the Committee. He said he had advised the President of his position.

## REPUBLICAN APPOINTMENTS

President Kennedy has named Republicans to at least 21 of the more than 200 top policy making and administrative posts in his Administration. Following is a list of the major GOP appointments. (Weekly Report p. 225, 429)

Anslinger, Harry J. -- Commissioner of the Narcotics Bureau, Treasury Department (reappointment).

Bundy, McGeorge -- Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, White House.

Bush, James S. -- Director, Export-Import Bank.

Charyk, Joseph V. -- Under Secretary of the Air Force, Defense Department (reappointed).

Dillon, Douglas -- Secretary of Treasury.

Fay, Paul B. Jr. -- Under Secretary of the Navy, Defense Department.

Flues, A. Gilmore -- Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Foster, William C. -- Director, U.S. Arms Control Agency, State Department.

Gidney, Ray M. -- Comptroller of the Currency, Treasury Department (reappointed; resigned).

Hampton, Robert E. -- Member, Civil Service Commission.

Haworth, Leland J. -- Member, Atomic Energy Commission.

Jones, Roger W. -- Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration.

Killefer, Thomas -- First Vice President, Export-Import Bank (reappointed).

McCloy, John J. -- Advisor to the President on Disarmament, State Department (resigned).

McCone, John A. -- Director, Central Intelligence Agency.

McMillan, Brockway -- Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Research and Development, Defense Department.

McNamara, Robert S. -- Secretary of Defense.

Miller, Herbert J. Jr. -- Assistant Attorney General for the Criminal Division.

Ross, Charles R. -- Member, Federal Power Commission.

Wakelin, James H. Jr. -- Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development, Defense Department (reappointment).

Whitney, Jack M. -- Member, Securities and Exchange Commission.

## SUPREME COURT

The Supreme Court Dec. 11 took these actions:  
**RACE RELATIONS** -- Unanimously reversed the convictions of 16 Negro students in Baton Rouge, La. for disturbing the peace as sit-ins at lunch counters in March 1960. The opinion by Chief Justice Earl Warren said the trials of the students contained no evidence the

students broke Louisiana's disorderly conduct statutes. The opinion did not address constitutional questions raised by the sit-ins.

Refused to review a federal court order to the New Rochelle, N.Y., school board to desegregate a predominantly Negro elementary school by permitting 267 pupil transfers to another school.

**LOYALTY OATH** -- Unanimously declared unconstitutional a 1949 Florida statute requiring every state or local government worker to swear that he was not associated with the Communist party. The opinion by Justice Potter Stewart said the provision was so vague it would inhibit lawful expressions of opinion.

**BUSINESS RECORDS** -- Ruled 6-3 that copies of "confidential" reports made by manufacturing firms to the Census Bureau may be subpoenaed at a later date from the firms' files for use by the Federal Trade Commission. The FTC had wanted the "retention copies" for use in anti-trust investigations; the Census Bureau argued that if file copies were not safeguarded, the manufacturer's would be less candid in filing reports and would jeopardize the federal statistical reporting program. The Census Bureau and manufacturers also argued that the copies were as inviolate as the originals because the information was rendered to the Bureau which legally must keep it confidential. The majority held that the law applied only to the original copy. Justice Tom C. Clark gave the decision for the majority. Justices Hugo L. Black, Charles E. Whittaker and Potter Stewart dissented.

## Capitol Briefs

**UNEMPLOYMENT** -- The Labor Department Dec. 7 said the seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment fell from 6.8 to 6.1 percent of the total work force between October and November. The rate had been around 7 percent for 11 months. Unemployment remained virtually unchanged at 3,990,000. It usually climbs by 500,000 between October and November. Total employment in mid-November set a record for the month, at 67,349,000.

**CUBAN SUGAR** -- President Kennedy Dec. 4 extended the U.S. embargo on imports of Cuban sugar until June 30, 1962. In an executive order, he said renewal of imports would be against the national interest. Mr. Kennedy last extended the ban in March until the end of 1961. The extension was of an order issued by former President Eisenhower in 1960. Previously Cuba shipped about 3.5 million tons of sugar to this country every year.

**U.S. ATOMIC TEST** -- The Atomic Energy Commission Dec. 10 exploded an atomic device underground near Carlsbad, N.M., as part of Project Gnome. Unexpectedly, a small cloud of radioactive steam escaped from a tunnel. A.E.C. officials said there was no immediate danger to residents of the area.

**FARM PROGRAM** -- Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R Iowa) Nov. 28 said the Kennedy Administration's farm program was "poorly conceived and badly administered" and would be more of a problem in 1962 than in 1961. He said the feed grain program particularly "emerged as a dismal failure," costing about \$800 million. (Weekly Report p. 1876)

## DRUG ANTITRUST BILL

COMMITTEE -- Senate Judiciary, Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

CONTINUED HEARINGS -- On a bill (S 1552) to amend and supplement the antitrust laws with respect to drug manufacture and distribution introduced April 12 by Subcommittee Chairman Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.). (Weekly Report p. 1817) Testimony:

Oct. 31 -- Dr. Colston E. Warne, president of the Consumers Union, publisher of "Consumers Reports," said the bill should abolish patents, not just limit to three years the length of time the inventing company could retain its monopoly. Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R Neb.) challenged Warne and said his name had appeared on a 1956 Senate Judiciary, Internal Security Subcommittee list of "typical sponsors of Communist Front Organizations." Subcommittee Chairman Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) said the Consumers Union had been removed from the list and Warne was a "good American." Warne said his beliefs were "not in the realm of Communist propaganda nor Communism."

Dr. Fritz Machlup, a Princeton University Economics Professor, did not take a position on the bill but said it would be "absolutely intolerable" if monopolistic control of a cancer cure were permitted. In reply to a contention by Hruska that Dr. Jonas Salk had not claimed patent rights to the Salk polio vaccine, Machlup said "not everybody thinks like Dr. Salk."

Nov. 1 -- Dr. A. Dale Console, a Princeton, N.J. psychiatrist, former E.R. Squibb and Co. medical director, endorsed the patent provisions of the bill. He said it would force the drug industry to raise its research standards. Console said it would reduce the amount of time, money and skill which was being devoted to bringing about slight modifications of existing drugs to evade loss of patent control of products, or to produce "insignificant facsimiles" of other firms' products.

Joseph G. Jackson, chairman of the American Bar Assn. patent, trademark and copyright law section, opposed the bill. He said it would "disastrously affect the independent drug inventor."

Dr. Alonzo S. Yerby, New York City Medical Welfare Director, supported sections of the bill designed to encourage prescription by generic rather than trade name. He said New York saved substantial sums by prohibiting doctors from prescribing medicines by trade name for public welfare recipients.

Dr. Frederick H. Meyers of the University of California Medical Center supported the bill. He said the Federal Government should test new drugs for effectiveness as well as safety before permitting the products to be marketed. He said there was "frighteningly limited" testing of new drugs to ascertain their effect on humans.

### DRUG INDUSTRY TESTIMONY

Dec. 7 -- Chairman of the Board of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn. Eugene N. Beesley supported provisions designed to increase the Government's role in establishing standards, inspecting manufacturing plants and punishing violations of standards in drug manufacturing. He also supported provisions requiring manufacturers to prove that a new drug produced the results

claimed for it in advertising and requiring manufacturers to register with the FDA.

Beesley said the bill's provisions dealing with the dissemination of information on side-effects and simplifying generic drug names were duplications of American Medical Assn. and drug industry efforts, but the industry would not object to provisions providing the FDA with standby powers to permit it to designate official names if the industry system failed.

Beesley said the S 1552 patent provisions would "virtually destroy the patent system with respect to medicines." He said patenting of molecular modifications led to continual improvement of products. He opposed a provision making it a violation of the Sherman antitrust Act for competitors arriving at a discovery at approximately the same time to decide through negotiation which one should be patented and to agree that the patent holder would license the competitor to sell the product. He said existing law which made negotiated settlements illegal only if in restraint of trade was adequate.

George E. Frost, a patent attorney, said patent laws should be revised as a whole and not with respect to one phase of one industry.

The following witnesses testified Dec. 7 at the request of the PMA:

Dean Eugene V. Rostow of the Yale University Law School opposed the patent provisions of S 1552. He said they would weaken competition and lead to a high risk of monopoly.

Jesse W. Markham, a Princeton University Economics professor, opposed S 1552 as did 36 leading doctors and 13 other figures in the medical profession.

Dec. 8 -- Dr. Vannevar Bush, chairman of the board of Merck and Co. Inc., said there were only "four or five paragraphs" in S 1552 he would endorse. He said the patent provisions would result in a reduction of drug research and a return to secrecy in research.

Dr. Theodore Klumpp, president of Winthrop Laboratories and former Chief of the Drug Division of the FDA (1936-1941) said S 1552 would replace original research with copying of other firms' products.

John T. Conner, president of Merck & Co. Inc., and Dr. Ernest H. Volwiler, a consultant to Abbott Laboratories, opposed the patent provisions. Conner made public a statement of 14 Nobel prize-winning scientists in praise of the American pharmaceutical research laboratories.

Dec. 9 -- Franz O. Ohlson, representing the Republic Aviation Corp., said changes in the patent laws could slow medical research needed to produce a cure for fallout victims, and also might slow medical aspects of space flight research.

Kefauver said drug industry acceptance of many of the bill's provisions was an act of "industrial statemanship." He asked the industry to "come up with one workable proposal which will secure some measure of relief for the American people" through patent law revisions.

RELATED DEVELOPMENT -- Dec. 6 -- Assistant FDA Commissioner J. Kenneth Kirk told 250 drug manufacturers that the FDA would strictly enforce a new regulation requiring manufacturers to list not only positive effects but also all possible adverse effects of drugs in informational inserts sent to doctors and pharmacists with drug shipments. He said the FDA had the facilities and authority to enforce the regulation if the industry did not comply voluntarily.

## SENATE COMMITTEE STUDIES NATIONAL FUELS POLICY

The Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has embarked on the first exhaustive across-the-board Congressional study ever attempted of the nation's fuels and energy resources. It is being undertaken to develop, for the first time, a comprehensive national fuels policy, and it could have the most profound effect on the national economy. Demand for energy in the United States is expected to double by 1980.

The method by which the Committee is going about this study is a departure in Congressional investigations. It may take from two to six years to complete. There are likely to be few public hearings. Much of the work will be done by experts. The Committee will probe into the basic problems of the nation's major fuels industries -- coal, oil and gas. It will also consider the growing importance of hydroelectric energy. Committee Chairman Clinton P. Anderson (D N.M.) Oct. 30 told the Independent Petroleum Association the Committee will consider such potential new sources of commercial energy as atomic power, shale oil, wind power, solar power, tidal power and geothermal heat.

### Expert Study Group

Anderson Aug. 1 appointed Samuel G. Lasky, assistant director of the Office of Coal Research who has participated in many fuels and energy studies in the past, to head a study group of fuels and energy experts. Each major energy industry -- coal, gas, oil and hydro -- will have an expert representative on the study group. It is now at work evaluating the material that has been written on fuels and energy resources. The study group has been instructed by Anderson to make a preliminary report to the Committee in late January or early February "about the economic and technical aspects of energy supply and demand in the United States, and the effect of current laws and regulations on energy supply and demand."

Anderson has directed this panel to "scrub the facts clean, separate fact from non-fact, squeeze all bias and prejudice" out of data available. "Where facts run short, they are to search for more; if more are not to be found, they are to give their professional judgment, making certain that they tell us where their judgment enters. If they must resort to informed guesswork.... they are to flag this fact for (Committee) attention. When the facts become too scant for even that, the Committee wishes to be informed of that deficiency too. Then it can do its own digging."

Anderson noted that "this is the first time this kind of study has ever been attempted. But it is necessary to start with a basic understanding of what we know about our energy problems, what we are assuming, what we are plainly guessing about, and what we are downright ignorant about, before we can consider anything so serious and far-reaching as a change in fuels and energy policy," he stated.

Both Anderson and Lasky have underscored the point that the experts on the study group are not spokesmen for their industries, although their industries designated them and have lent their services to the Committee. "They were selected," Anderson explained, "because

they are eminently knowledgeable about their respective industries or know where to turn for information that they themselves do not have. So far as human frailty permits the about-face, their loyalties for this job are to Congress," he stated.

After the expert study group makes its initial report to the Committee early next year, it is expected that each segment of the nation's fuels and energy industries will be called in to discuss its problems with the committee. "It is our hope that for the first time the fuels industry will have an opportunity to explain its problems, to lay out the inside guts of the industry to a Congressional Committee so that it can evaluate these problems in the light of the national interest," Joseph E. Moody told Congressional Quarterly. Moody is president of the National Coal Policy Conference, Inc., which was formed in 1959 to implement a national fuels policy at the Congressional level.

### Basic to Economy

All of the domestic fuels industries are sick industries today for complex reasons based on the facts that there is currently a world over-supply of fuels in relation to present markets, and the United States is the primary sought-after market by all fuels producers, domestic and foreign.

Policy questions relative to these industries go to the heart of the nation's economy. Among the questions affecting the fuels industry are foreign trade, foreign and domestic tax policies, public utility regulations at the federal and state levels, peacetime and wartime requirements, pricing patterns, control of end use of fuels, technological developments and research into new markets for existing fuels, development of new types of commercially competitive fuels and energy resources, reserves, conservation, present restrictions on oil imports, transportation, manpower, subsidies, and alleged government favoritism of one type of fuel over another.

S Res 105, sponsored by Sen. Jennings Randolph (D W.Va.) and 62 other Senators, passed the Senate Sept. 11 in a much-amended form. It authorized the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and three additional Senators to "serve with the Committee in an ex-officio capacity," to make a study of national fuels policy. The ex-officio members are Randolph, Clair Engle (D Calif.), and Norris Cotton (R N.H.). The National Coal Policy Conference previously had failed three times to secure approval of House resolutions to set up a Joint Congressional Committee on National Fuels Policy. The petroleum industry in the past has been suspicious of a fuels study on the grounds that the coal industry was seeking government market controls over fuels and energy. The late House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D Texas) opposed creation of a Joint Committee.

Many reliable sources believe that the Senate fuels study was undertaken as a "quid pro quo" for NCPC remaining neutral in the power battle over the Hanford reactor. (Weekly Report p. 1620) NCPC was the only coal lobby neutral over Hanford, but Moody denied to CQ that this stand was related to the national fuels study.



# Presidential Report

## TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S TRADE TALK TO AFL-CIO

Following is the text of President Kennedy's Dec. 7 address to the convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Bal Harbour, Fla.:

Thank you. Mr. Meany, reverend clergy, Gov. Bryant, gentlemen, ladies.

It's warmer here today than it was yesterday. I want to express my pleasure at this invitation as one whose work and continuity of employment has depended in part upon the union movement. I want to say that I have been on-the-job training for about eleven months and feel that I have some seniority rights. I am delighted to be here with you and with the Secretary of Labor, Arthur Goldberg. I was up in New York, stressing physical fitness and in line with that, Arthur went over with a group to Switzerland to climb some of the mountains there. They got up about 5 and he was in bed. He got up to join them later and when they all came back at 4 o'clock in the afternoon he didn't come back with them. So they sent out search parties and there was no sign that afternoon and night. The next day the Red Cross went out and around, calling: "Goldberg Goldberg. It's the Red Cross." Then this voice came down the mountain: "I gave at the office." Those are the liberties you can take with members of the Cabinet.

I want to -- it's a pleasure to be here. This is an important anniversary for all of us, the twentieth anniversary of Pearl Harbor. I suppose, really, the only two dates that most people remember where they were are Pearl Harbor and the death of President Franklin Roosevelt. We face entirely different challenges on this Pearl Harbor day. In many ways the challenges are more serious and, in a sense, long-reaching, because I don't think that any of us had any doubt in those days that the United States and our strength increased.

Now we're face-to-face in a most critical time with challenges all around the world. And you in the labor movement bear a heavy responsibility. I read occasionally about articles by those who say that the labor movement has fallen into dark days. I don't believe that and I would be very distressed if it were true. One of the great qualities about the United States, which I don't think people realize who are not in the labor movement, is what a great asset for freedom the labor movement represents not only here but all around the world.

It's no accident that the Communists concentrate their attention on the trade union movement. They know that people -- the working people -- are frequently left out and in many areas of the world they have no one to speak for them, and the Communists mislead them and say that they will protect their rights. So many go along.

But in the United States, because we have had a strong free labor movement, the working people of this country have not felt that they were left out. And as long as the labor movement is strong and as long as it is committed to freedom, then I think the freedom of this country is strengthened.

### VITAL TO FREEDOM

So I would hope that every American, whether he was on one side of the bargaining table or the other, or whether he was in a wholly different sphere of life, would recognize that the strength of a free American labor movement is vital to the maintenance of freedom in this country and all around the world.

And I'm delighted that there are here today, I understand, 150 trade union leaders from over -- nearly thirty-two -- countries around the world. I believe, and I say this as President, that one of the great assets that this country has is the influence which this labor movement can promote around the world in demonstrating what a free trade union can do.

I hope that they will go back from this meeting recognizing that, in the long run, a strong labor movement is essential to the maintenance of democracy in their country.

It's no accident that there has not been a strike in the Soviet Union for thirty, or thirty-five, or forty years. And Communists who in Latin America, or Africa, or Asia, say that they represent the people cannot possibly, under any rule of reason or debate, say that a labor movement is free when it is not able to express its rights, not only in relationship to the employer but also to speak out and recognize the limitations of governmental power.

We are not omniscient. We are not all powerful. This is a free society, and management and labor and the farmer and the citizen have their rights. We did not give them their rights in government. And I hope that those who go from this hall -- to Latin America, to Europe, to Africa -- will recognize that we believe in freedom and in progress in this country, that we believe that freedom can bring material abundance and prosperity.

And I want you to know that I consider this meeting and the house of labor vital to the interests of this country and the cause of freedom in the coming days.

### STRESSES RESPONSIBILITIES

What unites labor, what unites this country is far more important than those things on which we may disagree. So, gentlemen and ladies, you are not only leaders of your unions, but you occupy a position of responsibility as citizens of the United States and, therefore, I felt it most appropriate to come here today and talk with you.

First, I want to express my appreciation to you for several things. For example, I appreciate the effort that those of you who represent interests of the men and women who work at our missile plants have made. The fact that you have given and that the men and women who work there have lived up to the no-strike pledge at our missile and space sites has made an appreciable difference in the progress that we are making in these areas, and the country appreciates the effort you are making.

Secondly, we have for the first time a Presidential Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy which, for once, did not break up on the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935, but instead meets month by month in an attempt to work out and develop economic policies which will permit this country to go forward under conditions of full employment. And I want to thank you for the participation you have given that.

Third, as I said, I want to thank the labor movement for what it is doing abroad in strengthening free labor movements and I urge you to redouble your efforts. The hope, as I have said, of freedom in these countries rests in many parts with the labor movement. We do not want to leave the people of some countries a choice between placing their destiny in the hands of a few who hold in their hands most of the property, and on the other side the Communist movement.

### WIDER CHOICE NEEDED

We do not give them that choice. We want them to have the instruments of freedom to protect themselves and provide for progress in their countries, and a strong free labor movement can do it, and I hope you will concentrate your attention in the next twelve months in that area -- in Latin America and all around the world.

The fact is that the head of the Congo, Adoula, who has been a strong figure for freedom, came out of the labor movement. And that's happening in country after country. And this is a great opportunity and responsibility for all of us to continue to work together.

And, finally, I want to take this opportunity to express my thanks to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. for the support that it gave in the passage of our legislative program in the long session of the Congress. We did not always agree on every tactic. We may not

have achieved every goal, but we can take some satisfaction in the fact that we did make progress toward the \$1.25 minimum wage, that we did expand the coverage for the first time in twenty years; that we did pass the best housing act since 1949; that we did, finally, after two Presidential vetoes in the last four years, pass a bill providing assistance to those areas suffering from chronic unemployment; that we did pass a long-range water-pollution bill, that we did pass increased Social Security benefits, a lowering of the retirement age in Social Security from 65 to 62 for men, temporary unemployment compensation, and aid to dependent children. And we're coming back in January and we're going to start again.

## JOB RECORD

The gross national product has climbed since January from \$500,000,000 to an estimated \$540,000,000,000 in the last quarter, and it's a pleasure for me to say that the November employment figures received this morning show not only are 2,000,000 more people working than were working in February, but we have now an all-time high for November -- 67,349,000 people working.

But, more importantly, unlike the usual seasonal run in November, which ordinarily provides for an increase in unemployment of about half a million, we have now brought the figure for the first time below the 7 percent where it hovered down to 6.1 percent, and we're going to have to get it lower.

I would not claim we've achieved full recovery or the permanently high growth rate of which we are capable. Since the recession of '58, from which we only partially recovered, and going into the recession of 1960, too many men and women have been idle for too long a time and our first concern must still be with those unable to get work.

Unemployment compensation must be placed on a permanent rational basis of nation-wide standards and, even more importantly, those who are older and retired must be permitted under a system of Social Security to get assistance and relief from the staggering costs of their medical bills.

The time has come in the next session of the Congress to face the fact that our elder citizens do need these benefits, that their needs cannot be adequately met in any other way and that every member of the Congress should have the opportunity to go on the record up or down on this question, and I believe when it comes to the floor -- I believe it must -- they're going to vote it up and through before they adjourn in July or August.

Now there are six areas that I believe that we need to give our attention to if the manpower budget is to be balanced.

First, we must give special attention to the problem of our younger people. Dr. Conant's recent book ("Slums and Schools," by Dr. James B. Conant, former president of Harvard University) only highlighted a fact which all of you are familiar with, and that is the problem of those who drop out of school before they finish because of hardships in their home, inadequate motivation or counselling or whatever it may be, and then drift without being able to find a decent job. And this falls particularly heavily upon the young men and women who are in our minority groups.

In addition to that, 26,000,000 young people will be crowding into the labor market in the next ten years. This can be a tremendous asset because we have many tasks that require their talent. But today there are 1,000,000 young Americans under the age of 25 who are out of school and out of work.

Millions of others leave school early, destined to fall for life into a pattern of being untrained, unskilled and frequently unemployed. It's for this reason that I have asked the Congress to pass a Youth Employment Opportunities Act to guide these hands so that they can make a life for themselves.

Equally important, if our young people are to be well-trained and skilled labor is going to be needed in the next year, and if they are to be inspired to finish their studies, the Federal Government must meet its responsibilities in the field of education.

I'm not satisfied if my particular community has a good school. I want to make sure that every child in this country has an adequate opportunity for a good education. Thomas Jefferson once said -- Thomas Jefferson said if you expect a country to be ignorant and free you expect what never was and never will be.

It's not enough that our own home town has a good school, we want the United States as a country to be among the best

educated in the world, and I believe that we must invest in our youth.

## RETRAINING

Secondly, we need a program of retraining our unemployed workers. All of you who live so close to this problem know what happens when technology changes and industries move out and men are left. And unless -- and I've seen it in my own state of Massachusetts, where textile workers who were unemployed, unable to find work even with new electronics plants going up all around them.

We want to make sure that our workers are able to take advantage of the new jobs that must inevitably come as technology changes in the Nineteen Sixties. And I believe, therefore, that retraining deserves the attention of this Congress in the coming days.

And the third group requiring our attention consists of our minority citizens. All of you know the statistics of those who are first discharged and the last to be rehired too often are among those who are members of our minority groups.

We want everyone to have a chance, regardless of their race or color -- to have an opportunity to make a life for themselves and their families, to get a decent education, so they have a fair chance to compete and then be judged on what's in here and not what's on the outside.

And the American labor movement has been identified with this cause. (Applause.) The American labor movement has been identified with this cause, and I know that you will be in the future.

## FEDERAL CONTRACTS PROGRAM

And we are making a great effort to make sure that all those who secure Federal contracts -- and there are billions of dollars spent each year by the Federal Government -- will give fair opportunity to all of our citizens to participate in that work.

And, fourth, we want to provide opportunities for plant reinvestment. One of the matters which is of concern in maintaining our economy now is the fact that we do not have as much reinvestment in our plants as we did, for example, in '55, '56 and '57.

And we want this economy and this rise to be continuous. And I believe that we have to give as much incentive as is possible to provide reinvestment in plant which makes work and will keep our economy moving ahead.

And, therefore, I suggested a tax credit, and which I'm hopeful that -- the American labor movement has not yet placed it on its list of those matters that it supported -- that it will consider this proposal as a method of stimulating the economy so that this recovery does not run out of gas twelve months or eighteen months from now, as the '48-'59 recovery, after the recession of '58, ran out in '60.

Fifth, to add to our arsenals of built-in stabilizers so we can keep our economy moving ahead, it's my intention to ask the Congress in its next session for standby-by authority somewhat along the lines of the bill introduced by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, to make grants-in-aid to communities for needed public works when our employment begins to mount and economy slow down.

Sixth, and finally, we must expand our job opportunities by stimulating our trade abroad.

## BALANCE OF TRADE

I know that this is a matter to which the labor movement has given a good deal of attention. Mr. Meany made an outstanding speech on this matter several weeks ago and it's a matter which is of concern to this Administration.

I'm sure you wonder, perhaps, why we're placing so much emphasis on it, and I would like to say why we are, very briefly.

The first is, this country must maintain a favorable balance of trade or suffer severely from the point of view of our national security.

We sell abroad now nearly \$5,000,000,000 more than we import. But unfortunately that \$5,000,000,000 goes abroad in order to maintain the national security requirements of the United States.

We spend \$3,000,000,000 of that in order to keep our troops overseas. It costs us nearly \$700,000,000 to \$800,000,000 to keep our divisions in Western Germany and \$300,000,000 to keep our troop establishments in France, and what is true in France and Germany, which are outposts of our commitment, are true in other areas.

So that if we're not able to maintain a favorable balance of trade, then, of course, we will have to do as the British have had to do, which is begin to bring our troops back and lay the way open for other action.

So that this is a matter which involves, very greatly, our security, and unless you believe that the United States should retreat to our own hemisphere and forget our commitments abroad, then you can share with me my concern about what will happen if that balance of trade begins to drop. Now the problems that we face have been intensified by the development of the Common Market. This is our best market for manufactured products.

#### CONCERN OVER MARKETS

What I am concerned about is that we shall be able to keep moving our trade into those areas -- otherwise, what we will find is that American capital which cannot place its goods in that market will decide -- as they are doing now -- to build their plants in Western Europe, and then they hire Western European workers and you suffer and the country suffers and the balance of payments suffers.

So this is a matter of the greatest importance to you -- in fact, to all Americans. It is, for example, of the greatest importance to American farmers. They sell \$2,000,000,000 of agricultural commodities to Western Europe. We bring in \$80,000,000 of agricultural commodities from Western Europe.

In other words, we make almost \$2,000,000,000 of our foreign exchange from that sale of agricultural commodities, and yet Western Europe has great agricultural resources which are increasing, and we're going to find it increasingly difficult unless we're able to negotiate from a position of strength with them.

So this matter is important. The purpose of this discussion is to increase employment. The purpose of this discussion is to strengthen the United States, and it is a matter which deserves our most profound attention.

Are we going to export our goods and our crops or are we going to export our capital? That's the question that we're now facing.

And I know that those of you who have been concerned about this know this to be a major problem. Last year, 1960, we invested abroad \$1,700,000,000 and we took in from our investments abroad \$2,300,000,000, which sounded like it was a pretty good exchange.

But if you analyze these figures, you will see that we took in from the under-developed world, which needs capital -- we took in \$1,300,000,000 and we sent out in capital for investment \$200,000,000 -- and yet this is the area that needs our investment -- while in Western Europe we sent out \$1,500,000,000 and took in \$1,000,000,000.

So that if this trend should continue and, more and more, Western Europe became the object of American investment, it affects us all and affects the people who work with you. We are attempting to repeal those tax privileges which make it particularly attractive for American capital to invest in Western Europe.

We passed laws -- we passed laws in the days of the Marshall Plan when we wanted American capital over there, and as the result of that there are provisions on the tax book which make it good business to go over there.

Now, we want it all to be fair and we have stated we're not putting in exchange control, which we will not. But we recommend in January the passage of a bill which would lessen the tax privileges of investing in Western Europe and which would have been giving us \$250,000,000 in revenue and in balance of payments.

The tax privileges or the attraction should be in the under-developed world, where we have been taking capital out rather than putting it in, and not in Western Europe, where the capital is sufficient and which does not serve that great national purpose.

So this is a matter of concern for all of us and it's a matter which we must consider in the coming months. The Common Market is a tremendous market. It's going to be -- it has more people than we do; its rate of growth is twice ours; its income is about three-fifths of ours and may some day be equal to ours.

This can be a great asset not only to them but to us, a great strength tying Western Europe, the United States and Latin America and Japan together as a great area of freedom, and I think that it represents one of the most hopeful signs since 1945.

#### OFFENSIVE ROLE SOUGHT

It is one place where the free world can be on the offensive. And I'm anxious that the United States play its proper role to protect the interests of our people and to advance the cause of freedom. And I ask the careful consideration of the American labor movement in this area.

One of the problems which we have is to recognize that those who have been affected by imports have received no protection at all for a number of years from the United States Government. When I was a Senator in 1954, I introduced legislation to provide assistance to those industries which are hard-hit by imports. I am going to recommend in January a program which I hope the Congress will pass -- which will provide a recognition of the national responsibility in the period of transition for those industries and people who may be adversely affected.

I am optimistic about the future of this country. This is a great country with its energetic people, and I believe over the long period the people of this country and of the world really want freedom and wish to solve their own destiny.

I'm hopeful that we can be associated with that movement. I'm hopeful that you will continue to meet your responsibilities to your people as well as to the country.

I hope that we can maintain a viable economy here with full employment. I'm hopeful we can be competitive here and around the world. I'm hopeful that management and labor will recognize their responsibilities to permit us to compete -- that those of you who are in the area of wage negotiations will recognize the desirability of us maintaining as stable prices as possible, and that the area of productivity and stable prices -- that your negotiations will take adequate calculation and account of this need for us to maintain a balance of trade in our favor.

#### ADJUSTMENTS NEEDED

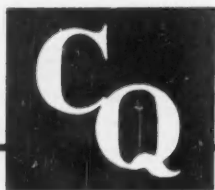
In the long run, it's in the interest of your own workers. Let me repeat, if we cannot maintain the balance of trade in our favor, which it now is at \$5,000,000,000 -- and, indeed, increase it, then this country is going to face most serious problems.

In the last three years, even though the balance of trade in our favor has been \$5,000,000,000, we have lost \$5,000,000,000 in gold, and if this trend should go on year after year, then the United States, as I have said, would have to make adjustments which would be extremely adverse to the cause of freedom around the world.

The solution rests with increasing our export trade with remaining competitors, with our businesses selling abroad, finding new markets and keeping our people working at home and around the world. And it is a fact that the six countries of the Common Market, who faced the problems that we now face, have had in the last four years full employment and an economic growth twice ours. Even a country which faced staggering economic problems a decade ago -- Italy -- has been steadily building its gold balance, has been cutting down its unemployment and moving ahead twice what we have over the last four years.

So what I'm talking about is an opportunity, not a burden. This is a chance to move the United States forward in the Nineteen Sixties, not only in the economic sphere but also to make a contribution to the cause of freedom, and I come to Miami today and ask your help, as on other occasions other Presidents of the United States, stretching back to the time of Woodrow Wilson and Roosevelt and Truman, have come to the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., and each time this organization had said yes. Thank you.

(See Weekly Report p. 1937 for President's trade talk to NAM.)



## Around the Capitol

CQ's Voting Participation story shows how often each Member of the House and Senate voted on roll calls, the nearest thing to an "attendance record" in Congress. "On the Record" scores also are given, showing how Members would have voted on roll calls they missed; this includes replies to CQ's poll of Members on all missed roll calls.... Hearings on an anti-trust drug bill continued with testimony from drug industry spokesmen.... A CQ Fact Sheet reviews progress on a national fuels policy study.... Text of President Kennedy's speech to the convention of the AFL-CIO and details of the labor meeting in Miami.

## Politics

Bills to enlarge the House may be revived yet another time in 1962 with the support of Speaker-prospective John W. McCormack.... Secretary of the Navy John B. Connally Jr. (D) resigns to run for Governor of Texas, faces a wide field of announced or potential opponents in both primary and general election.... Robert A. Taft Jr., son of the late Senate Majority Leader, prepares race for the House.... Opponents clear way for former Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton to become Governor of Nebraska.... Texans watch 4th District election Dec. 23 to fill seat of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn. (Page 1951)

## What's Ahead

### PRESIDENT

- Dec. 21-22 -- President Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Britain will meet in Bermuda to discuss the Berlin situation and international issues.
- Jan. 6, 1962 -- President Kennedy will address a birthday dinner honoring Ohio Governor Michael V. DiSalle in Columbus, Ohio.

### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

- Dec. 18-20 -- SMALL BUSINESS LEASING OF PRIME-QUALITY RETAILING, WHOLESALING, AND INDUSTRIAL FLOOR SPACE IN SUBURBAN SHOPPING AREAS, Senate Small Business, Subc. on Retailing, Distribution and Marketing Practices.

### POLITICAL EVENTS

- Dec. 23 -- ELECTION, 4th Texas Congressional District.
- Feb. 13, 1962 -- ELECTION, 14th Michigan Congressional District.

### OTHER EVENTS

- Dec. 27-30 -- SPEECH ASSN. OF AMERICA, annual meeting, New York, N.Y.
- Jan. 7-11, 1962 -- NATIONAL RETAIL MERCHANTS

- assn., 51st annual convention, Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y.
- Jan. 15-19, 1962 -- NATIONAL LIMESTONE INSTITUTE, Inc., January meeting, Roney Plaza Hotel, Miami Beach, Fla.
- Jan. 7-11, 1962 -- NATIONAL TIRE DEALERS AND RETREADERS ASSN. INC., Advanced Management Seminar, Flamingto Hotel, Las Vegas, Nev.
- Feb. 1, 1962 -- AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES, National Security Seminar, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
- Feb. 1-2, 1962 -- PRIVATE TRUCK COUNCIL OF AMERICA, annual meeting, Statler-Hilton Hotel, Detroit, Mich.
- Feb. 4-6, 1962 -- MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ASSN., 43rd annual meeting, Chase-Park Plaza Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.
- Feb. 8-10, 1962 -- NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSN. DEPARTMENT OF CLASSROOM TEACHERS, regional meeting, Wichita, Kan.
- Feb. 14-17, 1962 -- AMERICAN ASSN. OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION, annual meeting, Chicago, Ill.
- Feb. 17-20, 1962 -- COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATIVE WOMEN IN EDUCATION, annual conference, Atlantic City, N.J.
- Feb. 18-20, 1962 -- INLAND DAILY PRESS ASSN., annual meeting, Drake Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
- Feb. 19-21, 1962 -- AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSN., annual convention, Atlantic City, N.J.

